

Message Text

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PAGE 01 PEKING 00478 150905Z

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 /067 W

-----151018Z 036523 /11

R 150655Z MAR 77

FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7396

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 0478

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJ: WAITING FOR TENG

1. AS THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHINGMING RIOTS AT TIENANMEN DRAWS NEAR (CHINGMING FALLS ON APRIL 5), THERE IS A PERVASIVE MOOD IN PEKING OF WAITING FOR TENG. AMONG THE FOREIGN COMMUNITY, EACH NEW TENG RUMOR CIRCULATES UNIVERSALLY WITHIN HOURS; CONVENTIONAL WISDOM HAS IT THAT TENG'S CASE MUST BE RESOLVED--FAVORABLY--WITHIN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS IN ORDER TO FORESTALL ANOTHER, POSSIBLY UNCONTROLLABLE, OUTBURST OF PRO-TENG POSTERS AND DEMONSTRATIONS. CHINESE, ASKED BY FOREIGNERS ABOUT "COMRADE" TENG, SMILE SLYLY AND RESPOND COYLY THAT HE WILL RETURN "IN DUE COURSE."

2. CERTAINLY THERE SEEMS IN PROCESS A WELL-ORCHESTRATED PLAN TO REHABILITATE AND RETURN TENG BY THE END OF MARCH.

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PAGE 02 PEKING 00478 150905Z

TENG'S POLICIES HAVE LONG SINCE BEEN REHABILITATED IN THE OFFICIAL MEDIA; ARTICLES ARE PUBLISHED DAILY WHICH REBUT, ONE BY ONE, THE ACCUSATIONS ONCE LEVELED AGAINST TENG BY THE GANG OF FOUR; AND TENG'S NAME HAS FINALLY CREPT BACK INTO PRINT. HISTORICAL STUDIES (LISHI YANJIU) #1 OF 1977 CASTIGATES THE GANG'S UNNAMED FOLLOWERS IN

SHANGHAI FOR DECLARING DURING THE "WATER MARGIN" CAMPAIGN THAT "TENG HSIAO-PING WANTS TO RESTORE THE RITES OF CHOU" AND "TENG HSIAO-PING IS A PERSON LIKE LU CHUN-YI."

3. RUMORS CONCERNING THE PACKAGE DEAL WHICH MUST ACCOMPANY TENG'S RETURN ABOUND. ACCORDING TO FOREIGN EXPERTS, THE FILM OF CHOU'S FUNERAL IS ONCE AGAIN UNDERGOING REEDITING, THIS TIME WITH TENG SPLICED BACK IN TO DELIVER THE EULOGY. POSTERS OUTSIDE SOME PEKING FACTORIES WELCOME BACK COMRADES ARRESTED DURING THE TIENANMEN DEMONSTRATIONS. ONE POSTER NEAR PEKING UNIVERSITY HAILS "PRINTING AND PUBLICATION" (YIN-SHUA CH'U-PAN) OF VOLUME FIVE OF MAO'S SELECTED WORKS.

4. MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, PERHAPS, THERE ARE WIDESPREAD RUMORS CONCERNING TRANSFERS AND APPOINTMENTS; THESE INVOLVE SHIFTS OF PUTATIVE TENG OPPONENTS IN FAVOR OF PERSONS USUALLY IDENTIFIED WITH TENG'S INNER CIRCLE OF SUPPORTERS. THE MOST COMMON VERSION HAS A THREE-WAY ROTATION OF MILITARY REGIONAL COMMANDERS: CHEN HSI-LIEN TO SINKIANG, YANG YUNG TO CANTON, AND HSU SHIH-YU TO PEKING, WHERE HE WILL CONCURRENTLY BECOME DEFENSE MINISTER. IN THIS SCENARIO, YEH CHIEN-YING BECOMES NPC CHAIRMAN (HEAD OF STATE), WEI KUO-CHING THE PREMIER, AND TENG HSIAO-PING PARTY FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN AND VICE PREMIER.

5. BRITISH EMBOFF RETURNING BY PLANE FROM CANTON TO PEKING FOUND CHINESE CADRES ABOARD SAME FLIGHT
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 PEKING 00478 150905Z

EXTREMELY INTERESTED IN HIS MING PAO EDITION REPORTING PRO-TENG POSTERS IN CANTON. THIS LED INTO DISCUSSION OF AFOREMENTIONED SHIFTS, WITH CHINESE CUTTING IN AT ONE POINT TO SUPPLY NAME OF YANG YUNG AS RUMORED REPLACEMENT FOR HSU IN CANTON. CADRES DISPLAYED DETAILED AWARENESS OF ALL RUMORS, BUT WERE NONCOMMITTAL ON THEIR ACCURACY. ANOTHER BRITISH EMBOFF CONCURRENTLY IN CANTON, HOWEVER, RECEIVED CATEGORICAL DENIALS FROM LOCAL CADRE ON THE HSU AND WEI TRANSFERS. WEI, THE CADRE EXPLAINED, HAD NO ASPIRATION TO SERVE IN PEKING, PREFERRING RATHER HIS "KING OF THE MOUNTAIN" (SHAN-T'OU WANG) STATUS IN CANTON.

6. IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT MEETINGS ARE ALREADY IN PROGRESS IN PEKING TO DISCUSS, INTER ALIA, THE TENG REHABILITATION. A LARGE MEETING AT PEKING'S WORKER'S STADIUM, THUS FAR UNMENTIONED IN OFFICIAL MEDIA, BROKE UP AROUND 1800 HOURS ON MARCH 14. AND

WE NOTE THAT HUNAN'S RANKING PARTY OFFICIAL CHENG PING-HUA
WAS NOT PRESENT AT A MARCH 10 RALLY IN CHANGSHA.

7. THE SOLE REMAINING OBSTACLE TO TENG'S RETURN, PERHAPS, IS THE
STICKY ISSUE OF MAO'S ON-THE-RECORD CRITICISM OF TENG AS A
CAPITALIST ROADER. THE LONG ARTICLE BY HSIANG CHUN PRINTED ON
PAGE ONE OF THE MARCH 14 PEOPLE'S DAILY REPRESENTS THE FIRST
DETAILED ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN AWAY MAO'S "CAPITALIST ROADERS STILL
ON THE CAPITALIST ROAD" QUOTATION. BUT THE EXPLANATION SKIRTS
THE CENTRAL ISSUE, IT SEEMS TO US, OPTING RATHER TO CHARGE LAMELY
THAT THE GANG OF FOUR "DISTORTED" THE QUOTATION INTO A GENERAL
ATTACK ON ALL OLD CADRES.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL LEADERS, PERSONNEL APPOINTMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 15-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PEKING00478
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770088-0493
Format: TEL
From: PEKING
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770358/aaaabzdz.tel
Line Count: 129
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 7f1ff8b7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: NOFORN
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: NOFORN
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3103806
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: WAITING FOR TENG
TAGS: PINT, CH, (TENG HSIAO-PING)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/7f1ff8b7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009